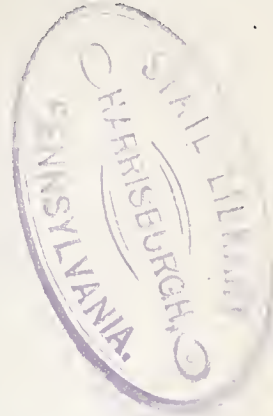


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CHINESE IMMIGRATION



BY

S. WELLS WILLIAMS LL.D.

*A Paper Read before the Social Science Association,
at Saratoga September 10 1879*

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CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

THE question of Chinese immigration has drawn to it a degree of attention since the immigrants began to land in this country thirty years ago, which can hardly be explained by their numbers, their conduct, or their capacity. The total arrivals from China during a quarter of a century have not equaled the number of persons which have landed at New York from Europe in six months during most of those same years. Their behavior, under great provocation, has excited no commotion ; nor has their learning, power, skill, or bigotry been such as to give any reasonable ground for alarm. It is not easy to account for the excitement on rational grounds, or to explain the many unfounded statements against the Chinese which have passed current, even after their inaccuracy has been shown. A good deal of the discussion has arisen from the different views taken as to what might grow out of their presence or increase. Some, drawing on their fears for their facts, regard them as the first ripple of an overwhelming flood of ignorance, poverty, heathenism, and vice ; while others, speaking from experience, after trying them in various capacities, assure us that the Chinese are docile, temperate, thrifty, and industrious, and have great capacity for improvement.

My present object is to describe the origin, kind, and prospects of this immigration, the conduct and the rights of the immigrants, with notices of their treatment, so as to come to an intelligent idea of the question. Few incidents in the last few months have had a more picturesque setting in regard to the actors, the place of meeting, and the subject talked of, than the interview held last April between General Grant and the Chinese merchants at Georgetown, in Pulo Penang. This island owes its commercial importance to the industry and skill of its twelve thousand Chinese settlers, who, under the care and control of the British Government, have made it a mart for the traffic of the neighboring islands and continent. They met the late President of the United States, in his journey around the globe. His position as a mere traveler offered to their minds, no doubt, something anomalous and almost inexplicable, but still invested with a scantling of its original power. They presented him with an address, whose subject was equally remarkable with the origin of the interlocutors, for they asked him to use his influence to secure a fair and liberal treatment for their countrymen in America, and to remove any restrictions which had been imposed on their freedom to come and go, the same as any other nation. He told them, in reply, "that the hostility of which they complained did not represent the real sentiment of America; but was the work of demagogues, who in that, as in other countries, pander to prejudice against race or nationality and favor any measure of oppression that might advance their political interests. He never doubted and no one could doubt that, in the end, no matter what effect the agitation for the time being might have, the American people would treat the Chinese with kindness and justice, and not deny to the free and deserving people of their

country the asylum they offer to the rest of the world."

I believe that this witness spoke truly. The discussions in the West and the East, in the pulpit and in Congress, will all tend to bring out the truth and help to maintain our national character for fairness and justice in relation to the Chinese. China itself is one of the best misrepresented countries in the world, and her people have been subject to the most singular diversity of opinion from writers and travelers, whose books have shown that they had had no opportunity to revise first impressions, or correct errors, and yet have furnished most of the statements relied on for the estimate taken of Chinese civilization. Now that scholars have increased, our acquaintance with the arts, culture, government, and literature of the sons of Han will help us better to understand the causes which have operated to make them, under the blessing of God, as much of a nation as they are.

They form one of the purest of existing races, and have occupied the eastern confines of Asia from very early times. The people are so often called Mongols in this country that it is concluded that they are of the same race as the nomads of the steppes. We may call them Turanians, if it be necessary to indicate their early race affinities ; but it is unjust to apply a term which only dates from Genghis Khan, in the 13th century, fully 3,000 years after their history begins. His grandson, Kublai, conquered China, and his family held sway over the empire for 83 years, under eleven emperors. All of them learned the elements of regular government from their subjects, whose manners, language, laws, and religion were generally adopted. Their expulsion left the Chinese to themselves, and the Mongols or Tartars, as they are now usually called, have been since mostly under the control of their former subjects.

The present rulers of China belong to neither of these races; but to the Manchu, which has occupied the northeastern shores of Asia since the 10th century. This race ruled the northern provinces of China for about 120 years, till A.D. 1232, when Genghis Khan destroyed their power and drove them back into their original haunts. They again grew powerful, and by a fortunate stroke repossessed themselves of Peking, in 1644, and have since ruled the empire with great prudence and vigor.

It is, therefore, an entire misnomer to call the Chinese Mongols, and I am sure that many persons use it in ignorance of the facts of the case. I am well aware how the term Mongolian is used by writers to include Laplanders, Tartars, Chinese, Japanese, with the Esquimaux and other Indian tribes, under one race; but we wrongly use it to designate a people occupying the Chinese Empire only. The old Aztecs and Iroquois, in this continent, were more alike in most respects than the Chinese and their neighbors in Central Asia, and they feel chagrined to be thus designated. Not a Mongol, to my knowledge, has ever landed in this country, and none are likely to come, any more than are the Arabians or Brahmins.

The southern Chinese alone have immigrated to foreign lands; and until recently went only to the Indian Archipelago, Siam, and India. This portion of the people is less pure as a race than their countrymen north of the Yangtse River, having early mingled with old Malayan tribes living south of the Nanling range in the province of Kwangtung. This mixed race exhibits some physical differences from their northern countrymen, the results of amalgamation, climate, and food; but is now quite the same in language, institutions, and religion. The people are smaller and more swarthy,

have more commercial enterprise, are better educated, and exhibit higher mechanical skill.

Only six departments or prefectures, lying along the coasts of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Fuhkien, from Hing-hwa near Fuhchau, to Shau-king, west of Canton, have furnished all the emigrants to other lands. The emigration into Malaysia and the Indian Islands has been going on for two centuries, and its results have been greatly to the advantage of the native states. Wherever the Chinese have come into actual conflict with Europeans it has been only with regard to trade and taxes, and never on account of their attempts to set up independent governments. The prosperity of Luconia, Siam, and Borneo has been largely owing to this element of their population; and even in Java, where the Dutch closed their ports against them in 1840, they have recently been invited to return, as mechanics and traders.

The custom of these Southern Chinese has been to pass to and fro; and, though most of the emigrants remained where they landed, thousands returned to their homes. This gradually diffused a knowledge of foreign countries and people throughout these coast regions, and made it easier for the natives to go to the Gold Hills when the report came in 1849 of the discoveries in California and Australia. A few went first to San Francisco, and their favorable reports spread through the towns around Canton, as they showed the dust they had brought. In 1854, the emigration began to assume larger proportions, and foreigners gave every facility to the emigration, as the business gave profitable employment to their ships.

The foreigners who flocked to California about 1849, and after, were desirous of getting Chinese labor, so that every immigrant soon found work. But about that

year the Cubans, Peruvians, and English were also desirous of importing Chinese laborers into their colonies ; and the ignorance of the latter of all foreign countries led them to readily infer that when once out of China they would at last reach the Gold Hills. This coolie trade, as it has been since called, was greatly aided by the free emigration to San Francisco and Melbourne ; but the two were radically different.

During the ten or twelve years ending in 1874, a marked and well-known distinction between free and contract emigration was drawn by the natives around Canton simply by the port the ship sailed from. If she cleared from Hong-kong, everybody knew that her passengers were free ; if from Macao, forty miles west of it, all knew that they were coolies—or as the native term, *chu-tsai*, *i. e.* pigs in baskets, described them—and would probably never come back. So marked had this distinction become that the Portuguese had made a term from this phrase, *chuchairo*, to denote a coolie broker. In 1873 the atrocities connected with this business had become so outrageous that the Portuguese Government, at the urgent remonstrance of the British Government, put a stop to the shipment of all contract Chinese from Macao, and brought the evils to an end. Their recital would be only a repetition of the modes in which reckless cupidity, irresponsible power, crafty misrepresentation and cunning, well-planned temptation, or outrageous violence and callousness, all united to get the advantage over ignorance, poverty, and want. The Chinese authorities at Canton issued stringent regulations to punish and restrain crimps and other agents ; but the laws were mostly a dead letter. The native kidnappers were sometimes caught by their countrymen, and put to death, with excruciating tortures, crucifixion, and burning. Still, so long as the

coolies could be shipped from Macao, the trade went on, to the terror of the community in which it thrived and the disgrace of that settlement, till it was confessed that it never could be conducted with both profit and honor.

These notices of the coolie trade are given because much has been said in the United States about the coolies brought here. It may be stated that this word *coolie* is not Chinese, but Bengalee. It was originally the name of a hill tribe in India, whose able-bodied men were wont to go down to the plains in harvest-time, just as Irish laborers cross to England at the same season and return home when it is over. The name gradually extended to all transient laborers, and in 1835 such people were hired at Calcutta (under contracts) to go to Mauritius, where laborers were needed. The application of the word to Chinese contract laborers was easy, for the term was already in use among foreigners in China for lower house servants and day laborers. These last, on their part, supposed it to be an English word, and probably the immigrants, on reaching San Francisco, ready to do any kind of labor, and not knowing many English words, so called themselves. There are three different terms in Chinese for house servants, for day laborers, and for contract coolies ; and I think that a good deal of our misapprehension as to the character of those in California has arisen from this misuse of the word.

The regions to which the coolies were carried included Cuba and Peru (where most of them landed), Jamaica, Trinidad, Demerara, Surinam, Hawaii, Brazil, and Central America. The Panama Railroad was mostly built by them, taken there in American ships. The only attempt to bring them to this country, which I have heard of, was made by some persons in New Orleans ; but

I am not aware how it succeeded. The total number of men thus carried away was probably over 300,000, of whom 142,422 landed at Havana between 1847 and 1874. Out of the whole, I do not think that 500 ever escaped or returned home ; and I am inclined to believe that over two-thirds of them all went abroad willingly, though ignorantly.

During these same years, men were going and returning from San Francisco and Melbourne, with stories of their success. The total arrivals at the former port between 1852 and 1878, according to the custom house records, was 230,430, of whom 133,491 returned home or died, leaving 96,939 in the country, not including births. "Spofforth's Almanac" for 1878 gives the arrivals in all the United States between 1855 and 1877 at 191,118. At this rate, it will probably take a century before half a million will find a footing in our wide domain, and that too against the competition of the owners and settlers of the soil and the skilled labor of our artisans. If two-fifths returned home when the land was open and calling for laborers, and the building of railroads gave work and wages to thousands of these hands, is it not as certain as a thing can be, on these facts, that the supply of workmen will be proportioned to the demand? On our eastern shores almost half a million of immigrants landed at New York in 1872 alone ; while the total number of arrivals from Europe for 30 years, ending in 1878, was 8,200,000, or more than one-sixth of our present population.

Nearly all the Chinese have come here from a strip of territory not much larger than the State of Connecticut, lying south and southwest of the city of Canton. Some alarmists said last year that myriads from the famine-stricken provinces in Northern China were to be brought to our shores ; but not an emigrant has ever sailed from

Shanghai or Tientsin for California. All have gone from Hongkong. The province of Kwangtung, of which Canton is the capital, measures 79,456 square miles, and its inhabitants speak many local dialects, which tends to crystallize them into separate communities, and has great influence on emigration, because it is only those who speak the same dialect who naturally go together. A man from Canton, meeting one from Amoy, Fuhchau, Ningpo, Tientsin, or Hankow, would be unintelligible to each of them, as they severally would be to each other; and this feature almost compels emigrants to follow the lead already opened. Thus Swatow furnishes those for Siam, Amoy does those for Manila, Kia-ying for Borneo, and five districts in the central and southwest parts of Kwangtung province were the homes of those now in Australia and the United States. Their names are Sin-hwui, Sin-ning, Kai-ping, Ngān-ping and Hiang-shan. For those coming from each of these five districts, or counties, a company has been formed in San Francisco to look after their welfare and to help them while in America. A sixth company does the same for all the immigrants from other places. The inducements and help of friends and the reports of returning miners have had great influence in stimulating their departure. Fears are entertained by some persons, however, that, if the gap thus opened in the vast population of the Chinese Empire be not stopped by limiting the number in one vessel to fifteen, or by abrogating the Burlingame Treaty, it will continue to run like a leak in a mill-dam, till we are all swamped. These are as baseless as the fear that the Indians are going to unite in a league to regain their ancestral hunting-grounds. Men do not change their homes and allegiance without adequate inducements and rewards, which are all wanting in this case.

Two or three other causes, besides the different dialects, have much influence in hindering Chinese emigration. One is their pride of country, which leads them to look upon those who go out of it as most unfortunate, running great risks of their lives, and putting themselves in the power of cruel and ignorant barbarians. Though there is now no law in force forbidding emigration, public opinion strongly discourages it, and the love of home acts against it.

A second deterrent cause is a strong sectional antipathy between the natives of different provinces, and even parts of the same province, leading them to shun each other like the clans of Scotland in the olden time. In Kwangtung, constant strifes arise between *settlers* and *squatters*, called *pun-ti* and *hak-ka*, often resulting in much loss of life. This repugnance tends to confine the immigrants to our shores to the districts near Canton. Further strong influences are at work to detain those who are in office or belong to the gentry, and those who have property or are in business. Besides these, the ties of family and claims of infirm, needy, and sick dependants compel myriads to stay. The numbers, which seem to be great here, are not missed there. Their departure or return makes no impression nor stimulates other throngs to do likewise. The men we have are the common peasantry from country districts—young and healthy, thrifty and industrious, willing to work and make their way in the world. They are neither paupers nor lepers, and certainly not criminals, for such could not get away nor obtain the aid or security needed. China has not yet learned how to dispose of her criminals this way. Most of them can read a little. Hundreds get over by borrowing money on high interest, to be repaid as they earn it, the lenders risking it on their life and habits. One hears so much

of the serfs, slaves, coolies, peons, Mongols, and such like poured on our shores, that very erroneous notions of their character prevail. One official document even described them as "voluntary slaves by the unalterable structure of their intelligent being." Complaint has been often made that the immigrants bring no families; but custom is too strong for the women to leave home to any extent. I think, when we consider how timid and ignorant they are—many of them crippled by cramping the feet—that, under the circumstances, it has been better as it is. Their sufferings would have probably been great, unable as most of them are to speak English, the objects of obloquy, and exposed to manifold temptations.

The new constitution of California gives us the intentions of the opponents of Chinese labor in Art. XIX., and shows the ignorance of its framers by the impossibility of carrying out its provisions. Some of them are in violation of the laws and constitution of the United States. "Asiatic coolieism" is prohibited; but is not defined. It was needless, however; for Asiatic coolieism had never existed in California, or any other State of the Union. It had already been declared to be illegal and piratical by Congress, and the law-makers might have fortified their position by referring to the Act approved February 19th, 1862, before inserting the following extraordinary section in the organic law of their State:

"SECT. 4. The presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United States is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the legislature shall discourage their immigration by all the means within its power. Asiatic coolieism is a form of human slavery, and is forever prohibited in this State, and all contracts for coolie labor shall be void. All companies or corporations, whether formed in this

country or any foreign country, for the importation of such labor shall be subject to such penalties as the legislature may prescribe. The legislature shall delegate all necessary power to the incorporated cities and towns of this State for the removal of Chinese without the limits of such cities and towns, or for their location within prescribed portions of those limits ; and it shall also provide the necessary legislation to prohibit the introduction into the State of Chinese after the adoption of this constitution. This section shall be enforced by appropriate legislation."

If history repeats itself, legislation does so far more frequently ; for here are the silly laws of China and mediæval Europe re-enacted in our Republic, and making new Ghettos for Chinamen near every town in California. This whole section reads more like the by-laws of a mining company, trying to keep its claim intact from the encroachments of other companies by erecting a fence around its land, than the deliberate result of a convention of wise men met to make a State constitution. It is not stated who are the foreigners ineligible to become citizens ; nor is it defined how the company formed in a foreign country for the importation of coolie labor, even before it has done anything, is to be made subject to the penalties of a California legislature ; nor how that State is going to execute laws prohibiting the introduction of Chinese into its borders, in face of a treaty between China and the United States. These points are left for the wisdom of a future legislature to attend to.

I have stated that an act of Congress is in existence prohibiting the introduction of contract laborers from China, or any other land, into the United States. In January, 1867, the following resolution unanimously passed both houses of Congress :

"Whereas, The traffic in laborers, transported from

China and other Eastern countries, known as the coolie trade, is odious to the people of the United States, as inhuman and immoral; and

“*Whereas*, It is abhorrent to the spirit of modern international law and policy, which have substantially extirpated the African slave-trade, to permit the establishment in its place of a mode of enslaving men differing from the former in little else than the employment of fraud, instead of force, to make its victims captive; be it, therefore,

“*Resolved*, That it is the duty of this Government to give effect to the moral sentiment of the nation, through all its agencies, for the purpose of preventing the further introduction of coolies into this hemisphere or the adjacent islands.”

This resolution was a proper expression of public opinion; but it never prevented a single coolie afterward landing at Havana or Callao, any more than its tone would lead one to suppose that a hundred thousand coolies had already landed at San Francisco, through the agency of the six companies. The opponents of Chinese immigration have so persistently declared that those who land in this country are coolies, that the burden of proof, after what has been said, must rest with them. It is not a mere question of the meaning of terms. Even so distinguished a man as Senator Blaine seems to have got the idea that the men now arriving in San Francisco are the same class of people designated in this resolution. He certainly ought, for his own credit, to have learned the facts of the case, before he accused the Chinese Government, as he did, of violating the Treaty, by declaring from his seat in the Senate, that, “in the sense in which we get immigration from Europe, there never has one Chinese immigrant come to these shores. . . . The Chinese Government agreed to enforce the provision that there should be nothing else than voluntary emigration..

They have never done it. The Treaty stands broken and defied by China from the hour it was made to the present time. We had to legislate against it. We legislated against it in the Coolie Law. The Chinese were so palpably and so flagrantly violating it, that statutes of the United States were enacted to contravene the evil they were doing; and it has gone on, probably not so grossly as before, but in effect the same."

It is enough to say, in reply to this charge of breaking the Treaty, that the Chinese authorities, both central and provincial, had passed many laws to restrain and prevent the coolie trade, and that the last act against it passed by our Congress was on February 19th, 1862, more than six years before Mr. Burlingame signed the Treaty. When that Treaty was negotiating, in July, 1868, no one at Washington brought up the charge that the Chinese Government had been for years sending coolies to California, nor were the immigrants then so generally stigmatized as serfs, coolies, peons, slaves, and Mongol hordes, for their labor was needed. I crossed the Pacific in 1860 in a ship with three hundred and sixteen Chinamen, not one of whom had a contract, and three-fourths of them came from two villages. No Chinese ship has ever yet crossed the ocean; consequently no Chinese has ever brought coolies to this country, and the blame of violating the Treaty could not rightly rest on that Government. Certainly, if there is one matter in which the American and Chinese Governments have been of one mind, it is the restriction of the coolie trade; while all the difficulties, the responsibilities, and the sufferings, too, have been on the part of the latter.

The majority of members in the Congressional Committee sent to California in 1876 were against Chinese

immigration. It obtained much evidence in support of their views ; but none of the witnesses could produce a contract for bringing a single coolie from China. I have seen thousands and thousands of these contracts in Chinese and Spanish or English, containing the terms obliging the coolies to go abroad for so many years at such wages, and their stipulations are plain and explicit.

I come now to a consideration of the Treaty which exists between China and this country. The bill which passed Congress last February, intended to restrict Chinese immigration, had this undignified feature (a solitary instance in our national legislation), that it covertly abrogated this Treaty, without even referring to its existence ; without citing an instance of its violation ; and, what was worse, without first informing the other party. Its passage was quite unexpected ; but it aroused quick remonstrances from State legislatures, from colleges, from missionary societies, from chambers of commerce, and from distinguished citizens, all alike presenting their reasons to the President against his approval.

In its Treaty with China, this nation has solemnly pledged its faith to firm, lasting, and sincere friendship with that empire ; it has promised that the people of the United States should not, for any trifling cause, insult or oppress the people of China, so as to produce an estrangement between them ; the Federal Government has covenanted that Chinese subjects in the United States should be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith ; it has asserted that there is mutual advantage from the free migration and emigration of the people of the United States and China respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, trade, or per-

manent residence ; it has specifically pledged itself that Chinese subjects residing in the United States should enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as citizens of the most favored nation ; and, finally, as if to place all stipulations in the Treaty on the highest moral basis, it invokes, in what is called the Toleration Article, as the standard of dealing between the two nations, the Christian sentiment that the principles of the Christian religion teach men to do good, to do to others as they would that others should do to them. In all these ways the Governor of Nations had beforehand placed the United States under peculiar liens toward this ancient kingdom to treat it with justice and patience. Some of the stipulations have a present application which could not have been anticipated when they were signed and ratified.

I would urge the maintenance of this Treaty, not alone on the high ground which the President takes in his veto—that it is not the function of Congress to make new treaties or modify existing ones, and “ that the denunciation of a treaty by any government is confessedly justifiable only upon some reason, both of the highest justice and of the highest necessity ”—but on the higher ground that we shall sin against right and justice if we do not. The highest expression of a nation’s voice is in its treaties ; they form almost the only declaration of its honor which other nations can appeal to. The denunciation of the conduct of the last king of Judah, for his violation of his covenant with the king of Babylon, stands on the sacred page as the highest attestation of the sacred character of such compacts. Says the prophet Ezekiel, speaking of king Zedekiah’s conduct :

“ Seeing he despised the oath by breaking the covenant, when, lo, he had given his hand, and hath done all these things, he shall not escape. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head.”

I do not doubt that these words carry much weight with them still as a word of warning ; and I believe that there is moral strength and principle in the people of this land quite sufficient to maintain what they have promised in the treaty with China.

The government of that empire has uniformly admitted its obligations ; and, considering its great difficulties, has creditably fulfilled them. The four treaties signed at Tientsin in 1858 were, no doubt, obtained under great fear and pressure ; but their stipulations placed international intercourse between the East and the West on a definite footing, and their operation has been to teach the secluded rulers of China both their own rights and their duties toward other nations. Great progress was shown, eleven years after, in sending Mr. Burlingame on a complimentary embassy to the powers with whom the Emperor had made treaties.

When the embassy reached Washington, it was received with great *eclat*. Among other things done during its stay was the negotiation of eight additional articles to the existing Treaty, by plenipotentiaries of the two governments, who signed them on the 28th of July, 1868. They were ratified by the Senate a few days afterward, and then forwarded to Peking, to be ratified by the Emperor, even before they had been submitted to his perusal. This was not done till the 23d of November, 1869.

Considering the circumstances under which the first or Reed Treaty was signed, those attending the second

were indicative of great and real progress in the intervening ten years. Its fifth article relates to emigration from either country, and has drawn great attention in and out of Congress, as if it stood in the way of our ridding ourselves of an unbearable evil in the crowds of Chinese who had thereby been induced to come to this country. It reads :

“ The United States of America and the Empire of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties join, therefore, in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.”

The leading idea in this article is to discourage the coolie trade, and this public declaration of our Government as to the difference between it and voluntary emigration was not supposed to have any other meaning. It is hard to see, moreover, how the declaration of an inalienable right of all men should be supposed to encourage or hinder its exercise ; it could not have incited emigration, for I am sure that not one in a hundred of the Chinese who have landed here ever saw it in their own country. Says Gov. Morton, the chairman of the Congressional Committee :

“ When this Treaty was concluded with China, it was

regarded by the whole nation as a grand triumph of American diplomacy and principles; and Mr. Burlingame was regarded as a benefactor of his country by having secured to Americans the protection of the Chinese Government and the right to live there and trade, and for having secured from China a recognition of what may be called the great American doctrine of the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and his allegiance. For the recognition of this doctrine we had been struggling by negotiation ever since we had a national existence, and had succeeded with them one by one. Within the last eight years we have secured its recognition by Germany and other European states that had long held out against us."

I need not quote from the recorded views of Gov. Morton on the backward step this country has been urged to take in regard to Chinese immigration, by adopting the very policy China itself is forsaking. That opinion would have been even more decided if he had lived to join in the Congressional debate of last winter, and record his vote in the Senate against the bill.

The passage of this bill at that time drew public attention to the treaty rights of the Chinese, and the people sustained the veto of President Hayes, as a judicious, sound, and timely refusal to yield to a sectional demand to go back on a lifelong policy in regard to immigration. That veto saved this Republic from one of the most uncalled-for wrongs to its national reputation, in repudiating a solemn treaty, in fact, if not in form, without mentioning a single instance in the bill of the wrongdoing of the other party, as was done in 1798, when the treaty with France was abrogated by Congress, and without first stating to the Chinese our own case. It would have been hard for us to have made out a grievance. We would never have done so toward a strong nation, and it was entirely unnecessary to do it toward

a weak one. The new constitution of California has, however, supplemented the bill by the following sections :

“No corporation now existing or hereafter formed under the laws of this State shall, after the adoption of this constitution, employ, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolian. The legislature will pass such laws as may be necessary to enforce this provision.

“No Chinese will be employed on any State, county, municipal, or other public work, except in punishment for crime.”

The execution of these two sections is likely to cause some resistance on the part of corporations in that State, by their restrictions on the labor market—one of the chimerical objects of the majority of the Convention.

As another instance of unjust (if not impossible) legislation in the same direction, one where the object aimed at is almost forgotten in view of the manner in which it is to be reached, is a bill recently introduced in the Senate by Mr. Slater, of Oregon. This is what his bill forbids the hapless Chinaman to do :

“To engage in, carry on, or work at any manufacturing or mechanical business ; or to own or lease, carry on or work any mine, or to own or lease any real estate for any purpose other than that of lawful commerce and for places of residence ; or to conduct any farm, garden, vineyard, or orchard, for agricultural, horticultural, or other like purpose ; or to own, have, or keep any herd of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, or swine, for the purpose of making profit by the increase, product, or use thereof ; or to keep any hotel or restaurant for public entertainment (excepting for the use and accommodation of the citizens and subjects of

China); or to work or engage to work as mechanic, artisan, laborer, waiter, servant, cook, clerk, or messenger, or in any other kind of labor, skilled or unskilled, except for and in the employ of citizens and subjects of China lawfully engaged in commerce in the United States or traveling or residing therein."

The bill reads like an edict of Philip or Alva against heretics, for it declares that the penalty for every violation of these provisions is a fine of not less than \$100, *and* an imprisonment for not more than six months. Conviction involves a "forfeiture of all property used or invested in the prohibited business." No person or corporation can employ a Chinese in prohibited work or business, under a penalty of \$100 for each offense. Comment on such regulations could add nothing to their harshness, their impossibility, or their folly. It is true, indeed, that they have not yet the force of law, and I quote them only as an index of the kind of legislation which may be attempted at the next session in regulating the treatment of these people in the East as well as in the Pacific States.

I have endeavored to show that the Chinese are here under the strongest public sanctions of any race, and ought to be protected in their treaty rights by this nation. They began to come to the Pacific coast at the invitation of our own people, attracted there, as others were, by the search for gold. They took up the washed-out and abandoned diggings at first; but they have since continued to come and go, because there was a demand for their labor. We call them *Heathen Chinee*, and so, unhappily, they are; but they brought with them industrious and quiet habits, and during the past 27 years have added largely to the resources and wealth of this country. They have spread themselves over that and the neighboring States, wherever their

labor was wanted, and have given general satisfaction in those branches of unskilled labor for which they were fit. It is impossible to estimate the money value of this industry ; but the evidence taken by the Morton Committee proves that, without their help, many enterprises now in full operation would not have been attempted when they were much needed. Among these enterprises the Pacific Railroad stands prominent, and one of its leading managers testified that Chinese laborers had given more employment to white laborers than they could otherwise have got, and that the road could not have been completed for many years if these Asiatics had not been available. Over a million acres of tule-lands have been reclaimed, which would otherwise have lain idle to this day. Irrigating canals for farms, with dams and sluices for the mines, all owe their existence to this source. One witness stated that without Chinese aid the population of California could not be maintained at more than one-half its present amount ; and in regard to the cultivation of wheat, he assured the Committee that it could not be profitably raised at all if the cost of production were increased. I was told that in September, 1876, about 400,000 bushels were ready for the sickle, and that this crop could not have been moved unless Chinese laborers had been there to put it on board ship at a cheap rate. The only thing to be done with it was to let it rot or burn it. The ramifications of labor are so great that every one must see that it is nearly impossible to separate out one branch from all the others, and that to place the benefits of Chinese labor at a figure like \$300,000,000 or \$400,000,000 is to deceive one's self as to its true value. It is the way, however, that " we are ruined by cheap Chinese labor."

How fallacious, therefore, are the statements in the

California Senate Address by which its writers try to prove the loss to the country caused by this immigration. They roundly assert that the Chinese laborers make a draft upon the wealth of the nation, take from instead of adding to its substance, and have abstracted from California alone not less than \$180,000,000 in gold, while they have contributed nothing to the State or national wealth, and prevent a more desirable class of settlers coming. An estimate is then made that 125,000 male European immigrants would have enriched the State at least \$380,000,000, in which total is included the \$180,000,000 carried home by the Chinese. In this singular sum in political economy, the capital value of so many European immigrants who had not yet landed in the State is set over against the actual earnings of as many Chinese, not one of whom could have got a cent to carry home until his labor made it and left its equivalent behind him. If, too, they carried it and themselves home, could not the writers see that just so many vacant places were left for the more desirable class? The very reason alleged against the Chinese carrying their earnings home is, therefore, incompatible with the fear expressed by the writers of the unarmed invasion impending from Asia. The impulse which led the immigrants to return should, in fairness, have been stated as a reason why there was little to fear as to their coming in vast numbers. But the one-sidedness of this Address is apparent throughout. If, however, the 125,000 European immigrants who, if the Chinese had never come, would have enriched the State nearly \$400,000,000, have helped to enact the new constitution now in force, some of the American inhabitants may think that their presence has not been all clear gain.

The main arguments of those who have denounced the Chinese have been founded a good deal upon par-

tial statements of facts which are not denied, and an exaggeration of evils which have been caused in a good measure by the bad treatment the Chinese have received. An instance of this mode of argument appears in this Address, where it describes the expected "unarmed invasion" which is to overwhelm the Pacific slope, and to resist which the Senatorial Committee calls upon this nation for help :

"Already, to the minds of many, this immigration begins to assume the nature and proportions of a dangerous, unarmed invasion of our soil. Twenty years of increasing Chinese immigration will occupy the entire Pacific coast, to the exclusion of the white population. Many of our people are confident that the whole coast is yet to become a mere colony of China. All the old empires have been conquered by armed invasions ; but North and South America and Australia have been wrested from their native inhabitants by peaceable, unarmed invasions. Nor is this fear entirely groundless as to the Pacific coast, for it is in keeping with the principles which govern the changes of modern dynasties and the advance guard is already upon our shores. The immigration which is needed to offset and balance that from China is retarded by the condition of the labor question on this coast, and we have reason to expect that within ten years the Chinese will equal the whites. In view of these facts, thousands of our people are beginning to feel a settled exasperation—a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the situation. Hitherto this feeling has been restrained and the Chinese have had the full protection of our laws. It may be true that at rare intervals acts of violence have been committed towards them ; but it is also true that punishment has swiftly followed. Our city criminal courts invariably inflict a severer punishment for offenses committed upon Chinese than for like offenses committed against whites. The people of this State have been more than patient. We are satisfied that the condition of affairs, as they exist in San Francisco, would not be

tolerated without a resort to violence in any Eastern city. It is the part of wisdom to anticipate the day when patience may cease, and by wise legislation avert its evils. Impending difficulties of this character should not in this advanced age be left to the chance arbitrament of force. These are questions which ought to be solved by the statesman and philanthropist, and not by the soldier."

It has been by such a mixture of facts, fears, and assertions that much of the ill-will against the Chinese has been fostered. Its influence has probably been greater than that of any other document issued; for it is signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee, and few of its readers have the means of verifying or examining its statements. The single fact, however, that less than 120,000 Chinese, at the highest estimate, even now remain in our borders, indicates the little depth and force of this unarmed invasion.

This Address was fully answered December 8th, 1877, by a Memorial from the Six Companies addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives, containing statements drawn from public documents, and proofs of its inaccuracy, which could not be denied. The amounts of poll and other taxes paid by the Chinese in the State were far beyond the proportion paid by other inhabitants, especially in the miner's tax. Every page of this Memorial bears evidence of the carefulness with which it was written, in view of the scrutiny which would assail its assertions. It has borne the examination; but in the Eastern States it has not been made known as widely as the Address. The contrast between the writers and the objects, arguments, and animus of the two documents is one of the most singular and instructive in the history of the American people. The charges brought against the British Crown by our

fathers in the Revolution, detailing the bad treatment experienced by the colonists, did not compare with the injustice and wrongs which have been suffered by the Chinese under the laws of California.

In face of the assertion just quoted from the Address, as to the "severer punishment inflicted upon those who attacked the Chinese," I abridge a sentence or two of the argument of Mr. Bee, spoken before the Morton Committee, in 1876, about a year before the Address was issued :

"I regret exceedingly, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, to bring to your notice scenes and acts which have transpired upon the streets of San Francisco, which are a disgrace to any and all civilization. No country, no government, I undertake to say, has ever permitted the indignities to be cast upon any race of people that the government and municipality of San Francisco and California have permitted upon this class. I have myself seen one of the Pacific Mail steamships hauled into dock in this city, loaded with 1,000 or 1,500 Chinese. They were put into express wagons, to be taken to the Chinese quarter; and I have seen them stoned from the time they landed till they reached Kearney Street, leaning out of the wagons with their scalps cut open. I have seen them stoned when going afoot from the vessel. No arrests were made, no police interfered. I do not recollect of ever an arrest being made when the hoodlums and street Arabs attacked these immigrants. I say it with shame, that they have no privileges, and do not seem to have the protection of the laws extended to them in any particular."

This treatment by the hoodlums of that city was corroborated by a clergyman who was giving one reason for the few conversions among the Chinese, and there seems to have been no efforts made by the police to restrain such wrong-doers. The writers of the Memo-

rial, in view of these facts, most justly ask the question :

“Where is your boasted independence, when an agrarian mob dictates what kind of labor you must employ? Where is your boasted freedom of speech, when a daily press dare not discuss both sides of a question or speak a word in favor of an abused and persecuted stranger? Where is that liberty your fathers fought for, that a mob, led by aliens, can undisturbed hold their daily gatherings, and threaten to hang your best citizens, burn their property, and denounce them as thieves? And where does this lawless element look for encouragement, but to that class which occupies a higher political plane, whose exaggerated opinions concerning the Chinese we have quoted.”

This memorial also refers to Gov. Irwin's assertion in his message that the Chinaman has had his rights adjudicated in the courts with the same fairness that other immigrants have had theirs ; and then asks, What justice was meted out at Antioch, at Truckee, at Rocklin, Penryn, and Secret Ravine, when the property of Chinese was destroyed, they shot down as they tried to escape, and all driven away? They ask if one of the actors in the July riots of 1877 in San Francisco, when their property was destroyed and a Chinese murdered for defending his domicile, and his body thrown into the flames, has ever been punished.

These accusations, charges, rejoinders, etc., all indicate the existence of serious antagonism in the society of the Pacific States. What are their causes? The strength and violence of this antagonism have been fostered by some peculiar circumstances ; and, as evils never cure or weaken themselves, we do well to look at their workings in the light of such facts as are before us.

To my own mind, there is no fear of a great or irresistible immigration, and the reasons for its increase are less now than when the country was first opened. Thirty years have passed since the providence of God placed this region under the control of a Protestant nation, and, by disclosing its metallic treasures, after its sovereignty had been secured, attracted a population with such rapidity that California alone of all our States was never a colony or a territory, but arose at once from its military sway to be a fully organized State. That population was so ill assorted, too, that its reckless, lawless elements soon became too strong for the law-abiding portion, and the Vigilance Committee was the only remedy to save the State from anarchy. With hundreds of convicts, escaped from Australia, came hundreds of "moon-eyed Celestials," as the Chinese were called. A greater contrast was hardly ever seen between two classes of immigrants. No power was in the hands of the latter, and they were ere long exposed to discriminating legislation, the object of special laws which taxed away their property without their being allowed any voice in the matter. As soon as a law of the State had declared that a Chinese was an Indian, and its courts affirmed it, he was in reality outlawed. In 1852, Governor Bigler said there was no provision in the Treaty with China how Chinese immigrants should be treated, and that the Chinese Government would have no right to complain of any law excluding them from the country, by taxation or otherwise. This was before the date of the Burlingame Treaty; but while an act of the California legislature could not turn a Chinese into an Indian, any more than an act of Congress could turn a greenback into a piece of gold, it could prevent their evidence being taken in court; it could prevent their fishing or mining, their taking up

land or settling on it ; it could prevent their becoming citizens ; and it did expose them, without remedy, to the most unjust treatment.

The summary manner in which the courts in California converted the Chinese into Indians, when it was desired to bring a law to bear against them, has a spice of the grotesque in it. The physiologist Charles Pickering, includes Chinese and Indians among the members of the Mongolian race ; but the Supreme Court there held " that the term Indian included the Chinese or Mongolian race." It thus upheld a wrong, while it enunciated a misconception. It placed the subjects of the oldest government now existing upon a parity with a race that has never risen above tribal relations. It included under one term a people whose literature dates its beginning before the Psalms or the Exodus, written in a language which the judge would not have called Indian, if he had tried to learn it, and containing authors whose words have influenced more human beings than any other writings, with men whose highest attainments in writing have been a few pictures and totems drawn on a buffalo robe. It equalized all the qualities of industry, prudence, skill, learning, invention, and whatever gives security to life and property among mankind, with the instincts and habits of a hunter and a nomad. It stigmatized a people which has taught us how to make porcelain, silk, and gunpowder, given us the compass, shown us the use of tea, and offers us their system of selecting officials by competitive examinations, by classing them with a race which has despised labor, has had no arts, schools, or trade, and in the midst of the Californians themselves were content to dig roots for a living.

The anomalies growing out of our present laws relating to naturalization are such as to allow the authori-

ties in one State of the Union to give the Chinese citizenship within its borders, while those of another State may refuse it. The first has been done in New York, the latter is the rule in California. In 1878, Judge Sawyer of the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of California, rendered a decision on this point, quoting Sect. 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, "that the provisions of this title (33) shall apply to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." He decided that Chinese are not by law entitled to naturalization in this country because they are not white persons within the meaning of the statute, and that the intention of Congress was to exclude from naturalization "all but white persons and persons of African nativity and African descent." This decision would, therefore, properly exclude all Malays, Siamese, Burmese, Hindus, and Arabs, but it is an open and doubtful question whether it would exclude all Chinese and Japanese. The Chinese now in this country are more swarthy than their northern countrymen, for they come from just within the tropics; but that people occupy a million and more square miles lying in the temperate zone, and those living in the northern provinces are about as white as Europeans on the same latitude; both are more nearly olive than white. Three times has this question been decided in the courts of California in like manner "that the term *Indian* included the Chinese or Mongolian race;" but it is high time that a question in ethnology and national hue should be examined carefully and settled on some basis before a judicial sentence carries with it such consequences.

When all this was done by those in power, then they declare that the Chinese will not assimilate with us.

Senator Blaine describes the result, after the two races have been living side by side for more than thirty years, as not one step toward it ; but he omits to mention the feelings which have flowed from thirty years' ill-treatment, as tending to strengthen the divergence.

Some might reply that this was only a fair return for the opprobrious epithets which their countrymen and rulers have given to all foreigners for hundreds of years and the ill-usage and the restrictions which these epithets indicated ; but the times of that ignorance we can well afford to wink at, for they are passing away, and it is quite too late to use such arguments for our vindication. We are now mutually learning that there is far more of worth and promise in each other than either had supposed ; and I believe, after forty-three years' intercourse with the lowest and highest classes, that only a wider knowledge is needed to cause a higher appreciation. It is reasonable, therefore, that a different status be given them, and now, that a Chinese legation has been received at Washington, and a Chinese consul accepted for San Francisco, it is suitable that the countrymen of Yung Wing and Seet Mingcook be no longer classed with Sioux and Pawnees.

Their helpless condition before the law in early times in California made them easy victims to violence. It stimulated the robberies, murders, ejections, and assaults which ere long became so barefaced that a member of the legislature at Sacramento used them as an argument for allowing the Chinese to testify in courts, because otherwise white persons would be exposed to similar violence.

"The wretches who committed these atrocities," as the Rev. Dr. Speer, in his valuable work, says, "felt secure under a threefold cover. First, comparatively few of the Chinese could speak English or knew how

to obtain justice. In the next place, the officers of justice were too often under the control of the men who committed the offense, nominated and elected by them, and the villains let it be known that they would vote against any man who favored the Chinese. Lastly, these strangers have not been allowed to speak in an American court, and say : This was the man who shot down my brother in cold blood, and robbed his dying body of the gold for which he had been toiling for years, to send it home to make more happy the old age of our parents." Such things as these compelled a change.

One of these three disabilities still lies very much at the root of the whole question—viz., the inability to speak and read the English language. Its natural effect has been to drive the Chinese into closer compact amongst themselves, to strengthen the clannish feelings which would urge each aggrieved person to seek aid against his enemy from those who could hear his complaints, and to make him more thoroughly an alien by the feeling that he had been outraged without the hope of redress. This ignorance was insurmountable in the great portion of the immigrants, for they were too poor to spend their time in learning our language properly, and were too old to talk it intelligibly.

One result, too, was to throw great responsibility on the Six Companies, through whom the immigrants tried and did generally find counsel and aid. These companies have been the objects of more unjust charges, vituperation, and unfounded suspicion than any one can imagine who has not read what has been alleged against them. Yet I do not see how we could have got on, as the case has been, without them. What could have been done, otherwise, with thousands of active, young, and well-disposed men landing at San Fran-

cisco, not one of whom could read a word of English, and few of them talk it, yet each man eager to work as soon as he knew where? If the municipality of that city, seeing the facts of the case, had encouraged a few Americans to study the written language, and talk the Cantonese dialect, and had employed them as official interpreters and translators, to inform the immigrants of their duties, privileges, taxes, and other important points, the latter would have been ushered into their new condition with some idea of its requirements. Such a thing seems never to have been thought of as a practical end, and the Chinese were left to be looked after by the Six Companies alone. Whatever the managers of those companies might say respecting their organization, rules, and actual operations toward their countrymen, it seems as if it all went for nothing in the eyes of their detractors. The Address just referred to says, speaking of "our ignorance of the Chinese language," that "the great mass of the Chinese residents of California are not amenable to our laws; but are governed by secret tribunals, unrecognized by law, formed by the several Chinese companies, which are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of the Chinese to China without their consent. In short, they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of California."

If these allegations are true, it is no credit to a State to allow such things to go on, and plead "our ignorance of the Chinese language" as a reason for not breaking up companies who did them. The writers speak as if

the Legislature, which they represented by their committee, had no voice or responsibility in the matter. When, therefore, the companies deny the charges, and assure us that they never had organized or secret tribunals to administer justice in this country, and that many misunderstandings and difficulties they have settled among themselves, in the way of arbitration, we are disposed to believe them. The Rev. Dr. Speer's account of their design, given in Chap. XIX. of his valuable work, called "*China and the United States*," would have shown these writers how they grew out of the necessities of the case and what has been their practical operation during the past twenty-eight years. He justly calls them "institutions which have no parallel for utility and philanthropy among the immigrants from any other nation or people to our wide shores." Since he wrote his work the wider dispersion of the immigrants and their greater knowledge of English has limited the action of the companies as it has lessened their need.

With all these sources of information open to him, it is somewhat mortifying to read the answer of Mr. Blaine to Senator Matthew's request for his proofs of the manner, degree, and extent to which the Chinese Government is responsible for the establishment of the Six Companies for the purposes of immigration. Mr. Blaine replies :

"That I do not know. The secrets of the Chinese empire are past finding out. I do not know what sort of agency they have from the government. They have some, undoubtedly, and they retain it. They are, in a certain sense, agents of the Chinese Government for the importation of this coolie population."

Mr. Sargent was equally loose in his assertions, and,

like his colleague from Maine, felt that the Treaty was in the way of passing the bill before the Senate. He said :

“ The Burlingame Treaty ought to be cut up by the roots, in fact, as all these treaties should be. There is no reciprocity in them. We are allowed to enter but five ports in China. An American traveling in the interior of China has to do it upon a passport, and that is difficult to obtain. The Chinese come here by the hundred thousands, travel over this country, and do as they please. By the Chinese census only five hundred and forty-one Americans are in all China. Our citizens can only go in at certain ports and are impeded in their passage through the country.”

A reply to one count in this singular charge, and this statesmanlike reason for cutting up a treaty by the roots, could have been found if he had read the Reed Treaty, where seven open ports are enumerated, and since it was signed in 1858 eleven more have been opened. The passport system was pressed upon the Chinese plenipotentiaries by foreign envoys, as the best means of protecting the natives against reckless foreigners, and the passports are all issued by their own ministers and consuls. I have myself issued many to Americans citizens, and they can go everywhere they please, though in many districts a lawless population makes travel sometimes dangerous to persons not knowing the language ; not nearly so dangerous, however, as it used to be for Chinese traveling in California. Once more, the Chinese have never taken a census of foreigners, and why the fact (if it be one) that only five hundred and forty-one Americans are in all China is an argument for abrogating the Treaty needs some clearer explanation.

Honorable Senators who make such random state-

ments do more than merely weaken the arguments deduced from them in support of their cause ; and if they had inquired at the Chinese Legation in Washington they could have learned the truth. It may seem to many to be a trifling matter anyway ; but the reputation of this Republic for honorable dealing is not a trifling matter to those who now hear me, and this aspersion of the Chinese Government recoils on ourselves if the charges cannot be sustained.

President Woolsey says, in section 18 of his " International Law : "

" The honor or reputation of a State is equally its right ; and the injury done by violations of this right will seem very great when we consider the multitudes who suffer in their feelings from a national insult, and the influence of the loss of a good name upon intercourse with other states, as well as upon that self-respect which is an important element in national character."

The real reason why so much has been said about this Treaty, it seems to me, is because the opponents of the Chinese were unwilling to squarely propose a law contrary to all the declarations of the American people as to the asylum they offer to the people of other lands. But the Treaty really has had no perceptible effect on their coming. It merely quotes the inherent right of man to change his home and allegiance—as if it was properly higher than a Treaty stipulation—not so much to qualify it, as a reason for taking measures to prevent its notorious abuses in the coolie trade. The Emperor of China is as helpless to prevent his subjects leaving their native land as Congress and President Hayes together are to keep Americans at home. President Woolsey says : " The right of emigration is inalienable. Only self-imposed or unfulfilled obligations can restrict it." He also shows that a government is no more jus-

tified in prohibiting a subject from emigrating, than it would be in prohibiting a foreign sojourner from doing the same. It is an old right, too, for it was inserted in Magna Charta, and claimed then not only for natives, but foreign traders also; and if the Emperor of China is respectable enough among the potentates of the earth for this Government to make a treaty with, why should we hesitate to grant him the rights and courtesies involved in it?

It is plain that the struggle over the Chinese question on the Pacific Coast is only another form of the labor question; and that question is not to be adjusted by the puerile policy of limiting the number of immigrants in one ship from China to 15, while 1,500 may come from Japan, Siam, or any other country. The main features of this question were illustrated by an incident which was reported when I was in San Francisco. A patriotic American employed an Irishman to saw a load of wood for a dollar, and he was soon after seen quietly smoking, as he watched a Chinaman doing the job for twenty-five cents. In this epitome of labor and capital who would blame either of the three parties; or who could restrain them with any justice; or how long would it be before the intermediary smoker became a laborer or a capitalist?

The adoption of the new constitution of California has placed this great issue between capital and labor on a new ground, by making State laws against express treaty stipulations. Politics have also been mixed up with it, for the Chinese in that State are of no value in politics; but the Irish are worth much to those who please them. It is a very high compliment to the former that they have stood such tests during the past years. What other class can show so small a proportion of inmates of the prisons, alms-houses, and other reformatory

places? What other class would have submitted to such taxation? The miner's tax, the laundry tax, the fishing tax, the school tax, the immigrant's poll tax, the 500-cubic-feet-of-air-law, the queue ordinance, and that regulating the removal of coffins, are the names of various discriminating State or local acts (probably most of them now repealed), by which the Chinese have been fleeced. It was once even proposed to vaccinate every immigrant, at a charge of \$30, in order to protect the State against small-pox! Mr. Bee shows that before the miner's tax was repealed in 1862, it was estimated that it had taken over \$31,000,000 out of the earnings of Chinese miners, from whom it had been mostly levied. A recent decision of the United States Supreme Court has awarded \$10,000 damages for cutting off the queue of a Chinese by the sheriff, in accordance with the city ordinance. In delivering his opinion in the case, Mr. Justice Field characterizes it as special legislation against a class of persons, being intended only for the Chinese in San Francisco, and avowed to be so by the supervisors there, who urged its adoption and continuance as a means of inducing a Chinaman to pay his fine. He properly adds: "It is not creditable to the humanity and civilization of our people, much less to their Christianity, that an ordinance of this character was possible;" and says further: "It is legislation unworthy of a brave and manly people."

The conduct of these immigrants is, of course, to be judged by their early education and moral training in a heathen land; not absolutely, but in connection with their standards of morals and usages of society. I do not need to describe their personal habits, nor would I extenuate their moral character; their proneness to lying and gambling, or their destructive habit of opium smoking. No doubt hundreds of needy sharpers have

landed with the intention of preying upon their thrifty countrymen and living by their wits; but, on the other hand, I can refer to the students now in New England to prove that some can appreciate our civilization and assimilate to our teachings. The reports of various reformatory and penal institutions in California furnish some data for a judgment. Out of 95,000 Chinese in California, 198 were in State-prison in 1877, while 347 whites were there. In twelve years 711 natives of Ireland were committed, and 750 natives of China; but the adult Irish population was only 35,000, or about one-third of the other. In the Industrial School were four Chinese, among 225 others in the year 1875. In the alms-house, out of 498 inmates that year, not one Chinese, but 197 Irish; while in 1878 one Chinese was admitted, and 175 Irish. In the hospital report for 1875, out of 3,918 inmates, only 11 were Chinese and 1,308 Irish; in 1878, out of 3,007 admissions, 948 were Irish and 6 were Chinese. In the pest-house there were 22, none of them Chinese. The arrests for drunkenness in San Francisco alone for the year ending June 30th, 1878, were 6,127, not one of whom was a Chinese. Out of 4,977 deaths in the same place and time, 496 Chinese and 693 Irish are enumerated.

Yet, in face of these figures and facts, which are drawn from public documents, the following conclusions respecting the immigrants are put forth in the Address :

“ The evidence demonstrates beyond cavil that nearly the entire immigration consists of the lowest orders of the Chinese people, and mainly of those having no homes or occupations on the land, but living in boats on the rivers, especially those in the vicinity of Canton. It would seem to be a necessary consequence flowing from this class of immigration that a large proportion of criminals should be found among it; and this deduc-

tion is abundantly sustained by the facts before us, for of 545 foreign criminals in our State-prison 198 are Chinese, while the jails and reformatories swarm with the lower grade of malefactors."

The singular assertion here made as to the origin of the immigrants—that most of them have no homes or occupations on land, but live in boats near Canton, accounting for their criminality by their locality—is an entire mistake. The fact and the inference are equally out of the way. It would, however, be useless to indicate all such misstatements.

The conduct and condition of these people would, I am sure, have been far worse than these figures indicate, if it had not been for the untiring efforts of Christian men and women around them. These efforts have been going on for nearly thirty years, and only those who have lived in California can appreciate the perseverance, the patience, the care, and the faithfulness shown by many unpaid teachers in Sabbath and evening schools, as well as others belonging to and conducting more regular mission work. Statistics do not convey a just idea of the results of this benevolent work, which has largely been of that preventive and reformatory nature that helps men to be better, and keeps them out of jails and saloons, to the great advantage of society. Coming directly from their native hamlets in Kwangtung across the ocean, into a city where they were the objects of insults and obloquy ; unable to talk an intelligible sentence of English, even if they could read their own tongue ; not a law of the land translated into it to guide them, they naturally huddled together in their own quarter for safety and society. As they left San Francisco to seek work in the country, these kind friends of whom I speak found them out, and began to teach them English, by telling them the old, old story, which never

wears out. They thus became acquainted with the highest truths and the best rules for conduct, while fitting themselves for such work as they could find, by learning to talk and read English. Their teachers felt that God in his providence had brought them to our shores for some other, higher end than merely to be our Gibeonites, and well have they performed their work. While the legislators of California seem to have exhausted their wisdom in divising, from time to time, all the contrivances to tax and fine these people which could be brought to bear on them, their real friends were opening schools and meetings, and showing them wherein the true glory of this land consisted.

Every person who learned even a little of the truths of our holy faith from these benevolent efforts would be all the more likely to prove a good member of society.

If that excellent man, Gov. Seymour, had seen these efforts to teach the Chinese, and their results of a preventive and elevating nature, he would not, I am sure, declare that there has been no assimilation, that the race is alien to our institutions, and that their presence here in small numbers is dangerous. He would have borne in mind that everything had been done to hinder their assimilation, preventing them by law from becoming citizens, and then making them ineligible to enter the schools which would fit them to be citizens, even though they paid taxes for those schools.

The record of these efforts is contained in many reports ; but the best digest I have seen of their results is in Rev. Otis Gibson's recent publication issued in Cincinnati, called "*Chinese in America*," which I can recommend to all who are desirous to learn the truth on this subject. From this book and later sources the following figures have been gathered :

Total average attendance at evening schools for Chinese.....	825
Total roll-call	2,750
In Sunday-schools, average.....	1,100
Roll-call of Sunday-schools.....	3,300
Chinese baptized in United States.....	400
Native churches in Presbyterian Mission.....	2
Chinese pastors, teachers, and helpers.....	15

A Chinese Young Men's Christian Association exists in San Francisco, with members and branches over the country. The number which has openly ceased from idolatry is not known ; but must be over 5,000. The contributions from members for maintaining these efforts are daily increasing. It is perhaps not irrelevant to the general question to add that \$12,000 were sent last year by the Chinese on that coast to relieve the sufferers from yellow-fever in the Southern States.

Into the difficult subject of wages I will not enter. So far as I can learn, the unskilled Chinese laborer gets as much on the Pacific coast as his compeer gets on this side for the same work, and the prices of food and clothing there are less. In their cry against Chinese labor the workingmen in California unconsciously put themselves below their competitors in the race of endurance, skill, and value in the battle of progress ; while all the advantages of position, power, language, machinery, and priority are on their side. Charges are made that this influx brings with it a flood of vice ; but where can we find the laboring community in all that region which has been heathenized by their contact with the Chinese ? Have the Mormons or the Irish been made any worse or different from the presence of these people ?

Even the recent Congressional Committee, under Mr. Wright's chairmanship, in its visit to California, where it spent four days, found that the labor question

was the prominent one connected with this subject. Farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, peddlers, miners, and workmen, all agreed that they could not hold their own against the Chinaman ; and, without intending anything of the sort, they bore the strongest testimony in favor of the skill, business capacity, industry, patience, endurance, and frugality of the Chinese.

In fact, it is with their good qualities that most fault seems to be found. Whether these good qualities are so undesirable that immigrants possessing them ought to be excluded from the country is a question not for Congress and the Government alone, which so recently brought us to the doing of a national wrong, but for the common-sense and equity of the people at large. These qualities, therefore, should have their due prominence in our estimate of the bearings of the immigration.

If they find no demand for their labor, no remuneration for their outlay, they will not come. They are not held at home as serfs by feudal barons or great landholders ; they are not oppressed there, nor compelled to work in mines, factories, or penitentiaries ; they are in no particular danger of starving, from which and other evils they hope to escape by running away to America. China suffers much from the evils of ignorance, poverty, idolatry, licentiousness, cruelty, and unjust administration of laws, and I would not keep back any of their vices. Those now here have, on the whole, I believe, found no reason to regret their venture. In the ease with which they go and come lies one of the benefits they are to derive from mingling with us ; and also one of the strong reasons for believing that the immigration will never become an invasion.

I prefer to see the hand of God in the way in which the millions of China and Japan are being gradually brought out of their long seclusion and ignorance into

a knowledge of and participation of the benefits existing in Christian lands. Those two kingdoms and our own land cannot keep apart, and our intercourse will prove mutually beneficial, if we only treat their people in the same manner as we ask them to treat us. Mutual wants will beget the desires and means of growing exchanges, and, as we stand now in good relations, we have it in our power to do them lasting benefits.

The laws of California declare that the Chinese are Indians and aliens, and her legislators have treated them as if they had no rights which we were bound to respect. As I believe that the most complete way to settle our chronic difficulties with the Indians is no longer to regard them as aliens and treat them as wards or children, but in every legitimate way to induce and help them to become fit for citizens, so I would set this goal before the Chinese. As soon as they have an adequate knowledge of English and a certain amount of property, give them citizenship, if they desire it. An alien race is properly declared to be dangerous to the State, and the only way to remove or neutralize the danger, therefore, is by making such residents eligible for citizenship. The right to become citizens will stimulate great numbers of the Chinese to fit themselves for it, and there are now about 2,000 of them born in this land who ought not and cannot justly be debarred.

I close this paper by a quotation abridged from Senator Morton's views, written after he had returned from California. It expresses the deliberate opinion of a competent observer on this point :

“The limitation of the right to become naturalized to white persons was placed in the law when slavery was a controlling influence in our Government, was maintained by the power of that institution, and is now

retained by the lingering prejudices growing out of it. After having abolished slavery and established equal political rights, without regard to race or color, it would be inconsistent and unsound policy to renew and reassert the prejudices against race by excluding the people of Asia from our shores. It would be to establish a new governmental policy upon the basis of color and a different form of civilization. In California the antipathy to the Mongolian race, though differing in its reasons and circumstances of its exhibition, belongs still to the class of antipathies springing from race and religion. As Americans, standing upon the great doctrines of our polity, and seeking to educate the masses into their belief, and extending equal rights and protection to all races and conditions, we cannot now safely take a new departure, which in another form shall resurrect the odious distinctions which brought upon us a civil war. If the Chinese were white people, though in all other respects what they are, I do not believe that the complaints and warfare made against them would have existed to any great extent. As the law stands, they cannot be naturalized, and I do not know that any proposition has been made to change it. The question is whether they shall be permitted to come here to work or trade, to acquire property or to follow any pursuit. I think they cannot be protected in the Pacific States while remaining in their alien condition. Without representation in the legislature or Congress, without a voice in the selection of officers, surrounded by fierce and in many respects unscrupulous enemies, the law will be found insufficient to screen them from persecution. Complete protection can be given them only by allowing them to become citizens and acquire the right of suffrage. Then their votes would become important and their persecutors in great part converted into kindly solicitors. In considering any proposition to prohibit Chinese immigration, we have to remember that they come entirely from the British port of Hong-kong. Our refusal to permit a Chinaman to land, who had embarked at a British port upon a British vessel, would be a question with the British Government, and

not the Chinese. The fact that he was a Chinaman, who had never sworn allegiance to that Government, would not change the question."

His short sojourn in California did not afford Senator Morton opportunity to study all the points in the Chinese question, and the underlying one of difference of language is quite left out in this view. Time alone can remove much of the trouble by raising up Chinese who can easily teach their countrymen English enough to get along, as they teach them other things. The question which asks for solution now is : How can we remove the present irritation ? Considering how the Chinese have been treated, it is creditable to them that they have given so little provocation or resistance to law. The facts prove that they have been a benefit to the Pacific States, with all the drawbacks alleged against their presence. I can see no more effectual way to remove strife than to remove legal disabilities, treat them as we do other immigrants, and defend them, if need be, in the possession of rights guaranteed them by treaty.

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